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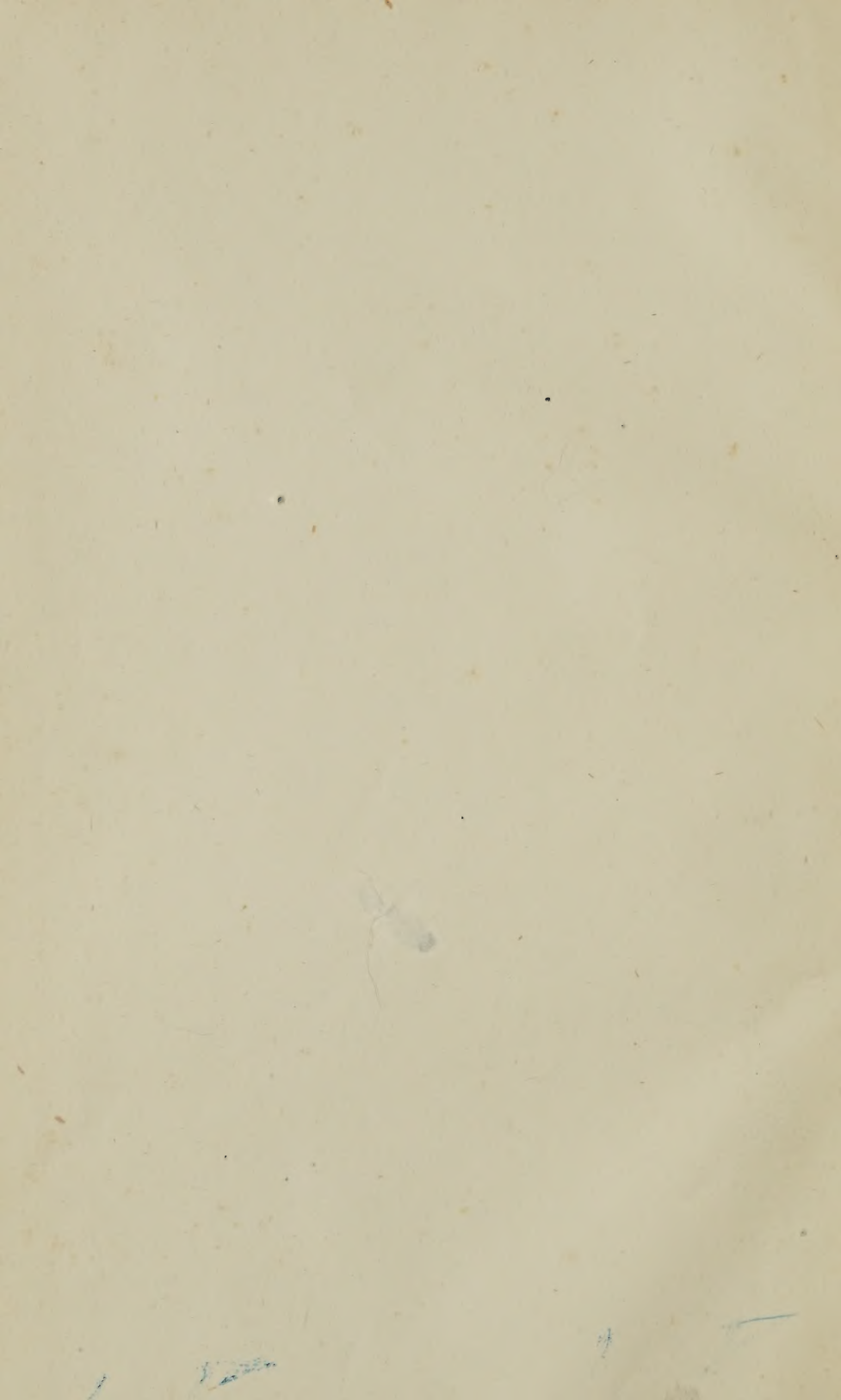
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Sparks, Jared, 1789-1866.  
Remarks on a "Reprint of the  
original letters from


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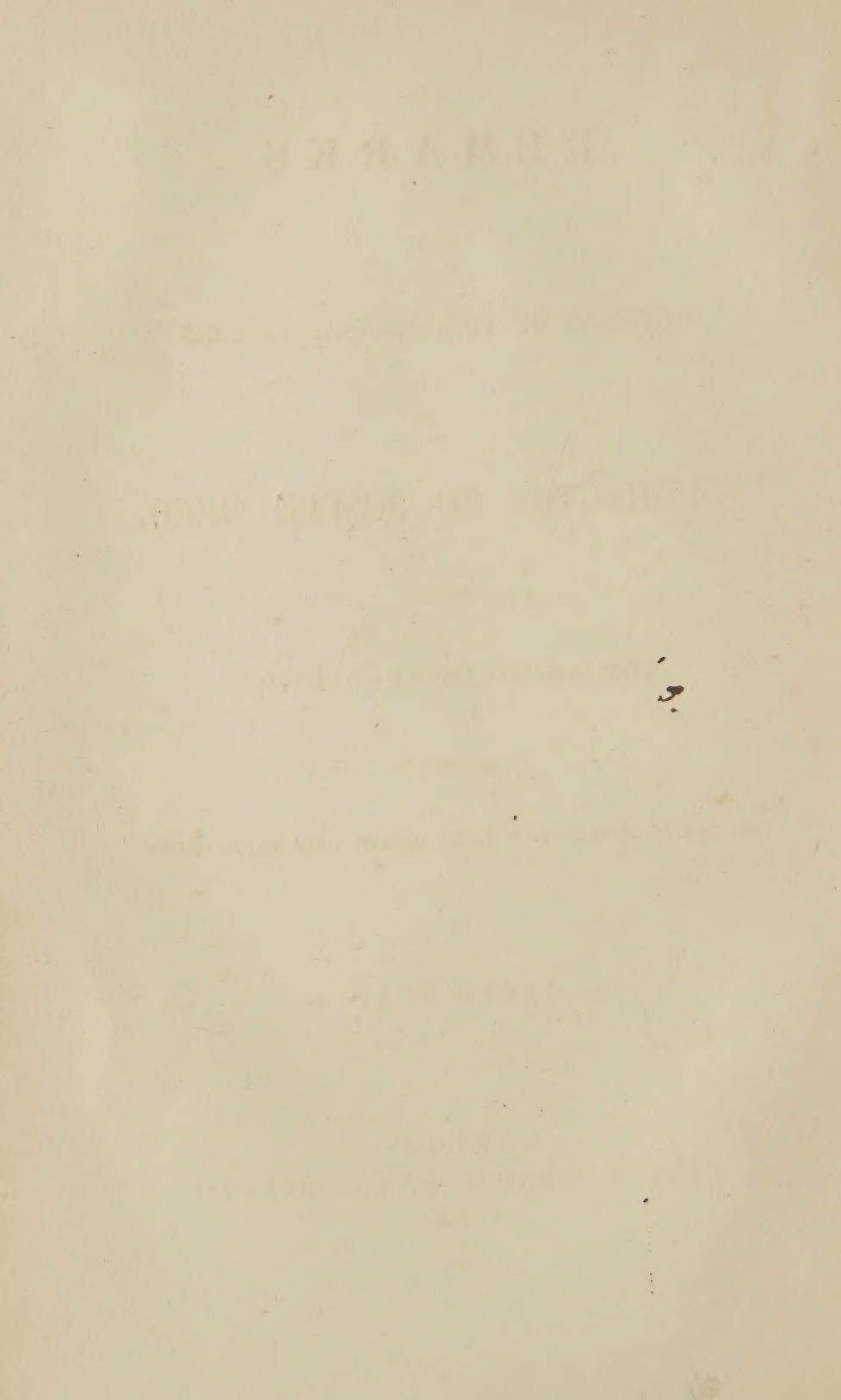












# REMARKS

ON A

“REPRINT OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERS

FROM

WASHINGTON TO JOSEPH REED,

DURING

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,

REFERRED TO

IN THE PAMPHLETS OF LORD MAHON AND MR. SPARKS.”

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BY JARED SPARKS.

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BOSTON:  
LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY.

1853.

C A M B R I D G E :

METCALF AND COMPANY, PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.



## REMARKS.

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So much has already been written concerning the manner in which certain portions of "Washington's Writings" were edited, that perhaps those, who have bestowed attention upon the subject, may think nothing more is necessary to enable them to form a proper judgment of the case. I have no disposition to protract the controversy by reviving discussions, that may seem to have been exhausted. In my "Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon and Others," and in a subsequent "Letter to Lord Mahon," it has been my aim to state facts without disguise, to explain the principles by which I have been guided, and to vindicate myself from erroneous charges and injurious suspicions, without censuring the opinions entertained by others on the general points at issue, or attempting to establish my own by arguments.

The task of an editor in preparing for the press

confidential letters, which the writer never intended should meet the public eye, is delicate and difficult. I felt the full difficulty of this task in regard to a few of Washington's letters. In fact, it was a question of serious import, and requiring much deliberation, whether such letters should be published at all. I had no doubt, however, at the time, nor have I any now, that, if they were to be published, it was the editor's duty to revise them with care, and to make such corrections as his judgment and feeling of responsibility should dictate. That this duty was performed in the best manner it could have been done, I shall be the last to affirm. Whether I was too scrupulous or too precise in some instances, or negligent and inconsiderate in others, may safely be left to the decision of those, who are willing to examine with calmness, and judge with candor. I claim only to have been actuated by disinterested motives, and to have followed my unbiassed convictions. Moreover, the subject in its details is one, upon which almost any two minds, viewing it under different aspects, may be led to form conflicting opinions.

But all the particulars touching this point, the rules which I adopted, and the reasons for them, are so largely explained in the introductory parts of the work, and in the more recent discussions, that I shall forbear to add any thing further on this occasion.

My present purpose relates to a different topic. It is well known that the animadversions of the critics, who have found so much to censure in my editorial decisions, have been directed chiefly to some ten or twelve private letters from Washington to Joseph Reed, written in the first year of the war. These letters were strictly confidential; no copy of any of them was retained by Washington; nor did he preserve the answers. In "Washington's Writings" these letters were printed from copies of the originals, which latter were furnished to me by their possessor, Mr. William B. Reed, who afterwards printed them in his "Life of Joseph Reed." It was discovered that occasional discrepancies existed between the two printed texts; and these are the materials which have afforded so fruitful a theme for the ingenious and severe comments of the critics.

Mr. Reed has lately reprinted these letters in a separate volume, placing the variations side by side, in parallel columns. In pursuing this course, as he informs the reader, he has been "actuated by a sense of duty to all parties," and a desire to render justice to Lord Mahon, to himself, and to me. If an act of injustice had been committed, however inadvertently or from whatever cause, it was certainly right that every ground of complaint on this score should be removed. Alluding to his former

work, Mr. Reed says, "I printed the Washington letters from the originals, the only variations being occasional corrections of grammar and spelling, and the omission of one or two sentences, evidently the result of oversight on my part." Yet he adds in another place, "At the time of their publication I had no doubt that it was my duty to print them exactly as they were written." It happened, however, as indicated by himself in this reprint, that there were frequent variations from the originals in his printed text, occasioned either by "corrections of grammar and spelling," or by accidental mistakes.

The remarkable omission, by which Lord Mahon and other writers were led to prefer against me the heavy and unjust charge of making additions to Washington's text, was, in its consequences, the most important of these mistakes.\* Another, not less important in itself, and scarcely less so in regard to the animadversions of which it was the cause, remained a mystery till it was explained by this reprint. Washington, giving a reason why

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\* Washington had written, "Is it possible that any sensible *nation upon earth can be imposed upon by such a cobweb scheme, or gauze covering?*" And it thus appeared in "Washington's Writings." But by some accident the passage in italics was omitted in Mr. Reed's text; and hence it was inferred that this passage had been "manufactured" by me.



he had been prevented from showing all the civilities he desired to show to gentlemen in Massachusetts while his head-quarters were at Cambridge, adds, as printed by me, "If this has given rise to the jealousy, I *can only* say that I am sorry for it." In Mr. Reed's text it was printed, "I *can not* say that I am sorry for it." As it was taken for granted by the critics, that Mr. Reed's text was right, and mine wrong, they urged with no little acrimony, that I had changed the language and perverted the sense, making Washington express a sentiment on a delicate point directly opposite to the one he intended; and it was ominously inferred, that, if I would take such a liberty in one case, I might do the same anywhere and everywhere, from the beginning to the end of the work. It turns out, however, that I had printed the words correctly.

These mistakes in Mr. Reed's text were unquestionably the result of accident, and it would have been kind in him, if, the moment he saw the comments upon them in the public journals, he had communicated through the same channels a few words of explanation, especially as he was the only person who had the means of doing it, and as the misapprehension had arisen from inadvertences of his own. This would have saved Lord Mahon from the error of making, and the awkwardness of retracting, an unfounded charge; it would have saved

me from much obloquy, which flowed from the pens of writers, who seemed not reluctant to seize such an opportunity for the exercise of their critical sagacity, and for expressing their indignant astonishment; it would have saved the public from misapprehensions and false suspicions.

Another error in Mr. Reed's text, now first corrected in this reprint, likewise exposed me to censure. Washington had written, on a certain occasion, that he did not consider it "expedient to countermand the raising of the *Connecticut* regiments on account of the pay," and it was so printed by me. In Mr. Reed's work the word *Continental* appeared instead of *Connecticut*, and it was again inferred that I had deliberately perverted the truth of history by assigning to the *Connecticut* troops what was intended to be applied to those of the *Continental* army.

Again, few themes, of so little significance, have been more amply discussed than the phrase "Old Put," used in one of Washington's letters. It here comes forward under an aspect somewhat new. Mr. Reed says, "It is printed 'Old Put' in my book, as a quotation. Hence it has been assumed that Washington so used it. On reference, now, however, to the original, I find it written without the quotation marks." As Mr. Reed's text was relied on, the assumption of its accuracy was not unnat-

ural. It happens, however, that the error on his part is of very little moment in its bearing on the question, since the letter to which Washington was writing an answer contained the phrase, and he evidently adopted it from that source. This conviction at the time may have induced Mr. Reed to add the quotation marks, or they may have crept in by some accident.

But enough has heretofore been said respecting the letters of this class; that is, the letters of which Mr. Reed possesses the originals, and of which Washington retained no copies. My present object is mainly to notice another class of letters; those to Joseph Reed printed by me from the Letter-Books.

Mr. Reed observes, "I have thought it best to reprint every one of the letters, which have been selected by Mr Sparks, even when he copied, not from the originals, but from the Letter-Books, in order to show, as a mere matter of literary curiosity, how far *they* differ." Here Mr. Reed mistakes in saying that he has reprinted "every one" of the letters copied by me from the Letter-Books. In reality he has taken but about half of them. The whole number derived from that source is more than twenty. He reprints only ten as having been compared with the copies in the Letter-Books.

His method is to divide the page into two par-

allel columns, printing in one of them the text of the original letter, and placing in the other the variations exhibited by the same letter as printed in "Washington's Writings." "In this way," he says, "an accurate judgment may be formed of the real extent of the alterations." If he had written *variations* instead of *alterations*, this statement would have been more accurate, but even then, as applied to this class of letters, it would have led to a deceptive conclusion. By the way in which the texts are compared, it is left to be inferred that every change from the originals as printed by Mr. Reed has been made by me. The initial of my name is prefixed to each separate variation, whether consisting of a single word or more. As the matter stands, no reader would suspect that any of these variations are to be ascribed to the differences between the originals and the copies in the Letter-Books, from which the text in "Washington's Writings" was printed; or, if such a suspicion should arise, the reader would have no means of deciding which particular variations are chargeable to the Letter-Books, and which to me.

I cannot but regard this mode of comparison, however well intended, as exhibiting the case under a deceptive aspect, and as placing to my account numerous alterations for which I am in no degree responsible, and which are plainly nothing more



nor less than discrepancies between the originals and the Letter-Books. It is true, in the instance of a single letter (December 12th, 1778), Mr. Reed says in a note, "The text of the original and the Letter-Book certainly do not agree literally"; but he does not furnish the reader with any guide by which the disagreements can be detected; and each one is marked by the initial of my name, although sixteen in that particular letter are chargeable to the Letter-Book, and not to any editorial discretion or indiscretion on my part.

Under these circumstances, I have felt it to be a duty, not as "a matter of literary curiosity," but as an act of justice to myself, to revise this branch of the subject, and endeavor to place it in a light by which the facts of the case may be more clearly perceived and understood. I have accordingly taken pains to procure exact transcripts from the Letter-Books, and to compare them with Mr. Reed's reprint from the originals, for the purpose of ascertaining in what particulars they differ. To these I propose to call the reader's attention.

Speaking of omissions, Mr. Reed says, "The only safe rule seems to be that which was adopted by Chief Justice Marshall long ago. I have before me an unpublished letter from him to the printer of his *Life of Washington* in 1804, in answer to an urgent request for the suppression of a passage

calculated to give pain to living persons. The request was assented to, but explicit direction given to mark the fact that a passage was omitted."

Whatever direction he may have given to the printer, as to this particular passage, it would be difficult to find a mark indicating the omission; and still more difficult to prove, that, in practice, he adopted any such rule as the one here mentioned. All the evidence would tend to establish the contrary. In his work are many selections from Washington's letters, some of them of considerable length, and in the midst of them are frequent omissions of paragraphs and sentences. In no instance, it is believed, can any mark or other indication be discovered, which intimates an omission. I shall produce a few examples illustrative of this fact; and also a few others, showing the kind of editorial revision which Judge Marshall bestowed upon the manuscript selections in preparing them for the press.

In the first place, I shall present the parallel passages in which discrepancies occur between Mr. Reed's originals and the same letters as recorded in the Letter-Books. It is here to be observed, that all the passages from the Letter-Books accord with the text printed by me in "Washington's Writings," except the variations mentioned in the notes.

TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

NOVEMBER 30th, 1776.

Having no idea of its being a private letter, much less suspecting the tendency of the correspondence, I opened it, as I had done all letters to you from the same place and *Peck's Hill*, upon the business of your office —

— sincerely wish your labors may be crowned with the desired success.\*

Having no idea of its being a private letter, much less suspecting the tendency of the correspondence, I opened it, as I had done all *other* letters to you from the same place and *Peekskill*, upon the business of your office —

— sincerely wish *that* your labors may be crowned with the desired success.

JUNE 15th, 1778.

There is another consideration with me. Congress *perhaps at this instant* are deliberating on an answer to give the Commissioners to *an* address they have received from them. Should *a letter* therefore *from a member, (in which light you will be considered)* hold out sentiments *different from* theirs, an unfavorable use will *doubtless* be made of it.

There is another consideration *which weighs* with me. Congress, *at this instant perhaps*, are deliberating on an answer to give the Commissioners to *the* address *which* they have received from them. Should *your letter*, therefore, *(considered as coming from a member)* contain sentiments *repugnant to* theirs, an unfavorable use, *more than probably*, will be made of it.†

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\* This letter Mr. Reed "prints from the Letter-Book." In two short sentences there are three errors, being two omissions, and a wrong name of a place, which latter is important; thus showing the difficulty of securing verbal accuracy in printing from copies of manuscripts, even when the attention is directed to that point alone.

† The above is an exact transcript from the Letter-Book, and is precisely as printed by me, except the following transposition. The words, "are deliberating on an answer to give the Commissioners to the ad-

## TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

NOVEMBER 27th 1778.\*

— *for* he was instructed to collect —

I have ordered an inquiry into his conduct on *this* occasion.

— the infamous practice of forestalling, and *the* engrossing such articles —

— which by *these practices* comes to it thro' the hands of these people —

— by accumulating the quantum necessary for ordinary purposes to an *enormous* sum —

— we are not to expect that the path *will be* strewed with flowers —

As my letter to Congress of this date has *carried* a full account of the cantonment of the troops, and other matters of public concernment, I have no need to repeat *them* to you as an individual member.

— the committee of arrangement will perfect the

— *as* he was instructed to collect —

I have ordered an inquiry into his conduct on *that* occasion.

— the infamous practice of forestalling and engrossing such articles —

— which by *this means* come to it *through* the hands of these people —

— by accumulating the quantum necessary for ordinary purposes to an *amazing* sum —

— we are not to expect that the path *is to be* strewed with flowers —

As my letter to Congress of this date has *given* a full account of the cantonment of the troops and other matters of public concernment, I have no need to repeat *it* to you as an individual member.

— the committee of arrangement will perfect the

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dress which they have received from them," are printed thus; "are deliberating on an answer to the address, which they have received from the Commissioners." Mr. Reed says this letter "is not in the Letter-Books"; but in this he is mistaken. It may be found there, recorded in its appropriate place.

\* Here again Mr. Reed mistakes in saying that "this letter is not recorded in the Letter-Books."



## TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

good work they *begin* in the summer —

— with sincere *regard* and affection —

What did or could prompt the Knight to this expedition *is beyond the reach of my conception*, considering the unseasonableness of it.

— not conceiving that he could *miss it so much* in point of intelligence as to mistime matters so egregiously, if either of the *other two* was his object —

— could not help being uneasy lest *some disaster* might *befall them* —

— posted back from Elizabethtown on the morning of the 5th, and got within twelve or fifteen miles of King's Ferry, when I was met by an express informing me that the enemy had landed at that place, *set fire to two small log'd houses, destroyed nine barrels of spoiled herrings, and had set sail for New York.*

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

good work they *began* in the summer —

— with sincere *esteem* and affection —

DECEMBER 12th, 1778.

What did or could prompt the Knight to this expedition, *I am at a loss to discover*, considering the unseasonableness of it.

— not conceiving that he could *be so much out* in point of intelligence as to mistime matters so egregiously, if either of the *two first* was his object —

— could not help being uneasy lest *disaster* might *happen* —

— posted back from Elizabethtown *at four o'clock* on the morning of the 5th, and got within twelve or fifteen miles of King's Ferry, when I was met by an express informing me that the enemy had landed at that place, *burned two or three logged houses with nine barrels of spoilt herrings, and had re-embarked and sailed for New York again.\**

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\* In connection with this passage Mr. Reed observes, that "Mr. Sparks in his first pamphlet expresses some doubt as to the accuracy of

## TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

— and will be led naturally to *conclude* that bold and confident assertions, uncontradicted, must be founded in truth.

— but however convenient it may have been for his *purpose* to establish this *doctrine* —

— I will defy any person out of my own family to say, that I have ever mentioned his name *after his trial commenced*, if it was to be avoided; and *when it was not, if* I have not studiously declined —

— as I never entertained any jealousy of, *or apprehension from* him, so neither did I ever do more than common civility —

— but the affairs of the army *requires* a constant attention and presence, and circumstanced as matters are at this *juncture* —

— as peace and retirement are my ultimate aim, and the

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

— and will be led naturally to *believe* that bold and confident assertions, uncontradicted, must be founded in truth.

— but however convenient it may have been for his *purposes* to establish this *belief* —

— I will defy any person out of my own family to say, that I have ever mentioned his name, if it was to be avoided; and, *when not, that* I have not studiously declined —

— as I never entertained any jealousy of, *or apprehended from*\* him, so neither did I ever do more than common civility —

— but the affairs of the army *require my* constant attention and presence, and circumstanced as matters are at this *time* —

— as peace and retirement are my ultimate aim, and the

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my text.” I did not intend to express any doubt. I said only, that “logged” in the Letter-Book was written “log’d” in his manuscript. The printers dropped the last syllable, and made it *log houses*, perhaps for the same reason that they print *brick* or *stone* houses, instead of *bricked* or *stoned* houses.

\* This phrase was omitted by me, doubtless because a blunder of the transcriber left it without meaning in the Letter-Book. Mr. Reed’s copy makes the sense clear.

## TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

most pleasing and flattering  
*wish* of my soul —

— will reconcile any place  
and all circumstances to my  
feelings, whilst I *remain* in  
service.

— as the season is now ap-  
proaching when either nego-  
tiation or vigorous exertions  
*must take place* ; and Gen-  
eral Clinton doubtless will, in  
the latter case —

— the sole purpose of this  
letter is to suggest *to* your  
consideration —

— for giving an alarm to  
the militia of the country, and  
for *fixing* places of rendez-  
vous for them, that in cases  
of sudden emergency they  
*may be quickly assembled*,  
free from tumult —

— the preparations for it  
will be *hid* under the darkest  
veil —

— any apprehensions I may  
entertain on this delicate sub-  
ject *unfounded* — happy to find  
*it* your opinion —

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

most pleasing and flattering  
*hope* of my soul —

— will reconcile any place  
and all circumstances to my  
feelings, whilst I *continue* in  
service.

— as the season is now fast  
approaching when either ne-  
gotiation or vigorous exertions  
*must take place of inactivity* ;  
and *as* General Clinton doubt-  
less will, in the latter case —

— the sole purpose of this  
letter is to suggest *for* your  
consideration —

— for giving an alarm to  
the militia of the country, and  
for *fixing on* places of ren-  
dezvous for them, that in cases  
of sudden emergency they  
*may quickly assemble*, free  
from tumult —

— the preparations for it  
will be *held* under the darkest  
veil —

— any apprehensions I may  
entertain on this delicate sub-  
ject *ill-founded* — happy to find  
*it is* your opinion —

MARCH 28th, 1779.\*

MAY 8th, 1779.

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\* Mr. Reed is again mistaken when he says, " This letter, I believe,  
is not in the Letter-Book."

## TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

— fixing the trial at that day week ; *you will be pleased to have delivered* to him —

— carries an alloy which no *temper* can bear with perfect composure. The motives, which actuate this gentleman *are better understood* by himself than me.

Whether these, or motives *yet more dark and hidden*, govern him —

— I should have thought myself a proper *object* for the lash, not only of his, but the pen of every other writer, and a fit *subject of* public resentment.

— but little *better* than a mere chaos —

— that a *plain* narrative of facts —

If this gentleman is envious of my station, and *conceives that* I stand in his way —

— recruits from the state of *Massachusetts* —

— Discouraging as *all* this is —

— Providence having so often taken us up when bereft of *other* hope —

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

— fixing the trial at that day ; *which you will be pleased to cause to be delivered* to him —

JULY 29th, 1779.

— carries an alloy which no *mind* can bear with perfect composure. The motives, which actuate this gentleman, *can be better accounted for* by himself than me.

Whether these, or motives *still more hidden and dark*, govern him —

— I should have thought myself a proper *subject* for the lash, not only of his, but the pen of every other writer, and a fit *object for* public resentment.

— but little *more* than a mere chaos —

— that a *plain and simple* narrative of facts —

If this gentleman is envious of my station, and *thinks* I stand in his way —

— recruits from the state of *Massachusetts Bay* —

— discouraging as this is —

— Providence having so often taken us up when bereft of *every other* hope —

## TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

— till the effect of the present exertions of *G. B.*, this campaign, is known, *when, possibly, a new scene may open.*

But this concern received additional poignancy from two considerations, which *were but little known, and one of them* never will be known to the world, because I shall never *attempt* to palliate my own *foibles* by exposing *the error* of another, —

The other was a Resolve of Congress *in the emphatic words*, —

When I came to Fort Lee, and found no measures taken *for* an evacuation —

— when I found other opinions *coinciding* with his —

— I conceived that every impediment *which* stood in their way —

— when thrown into the scale *of* those opinions —

— the pen of a malignant writer, who is *always* less regardful of facts —

— where concealment of a few circumstances *will answer his purpose*, or where a small

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

— till the effect of the present exertions of *Great Britain*, this campaign, is known, *and some new scene opened to our view.*

AUGUST 22d, 1779.

But this concern received additional poignancy from two considerations, *which did not appear; one of which* never will be known to the world, because I shall never palliate my own *faults* by exposing *those* of another, —

The other was a Resolve of Congress, *in the strong and emphatical words following*, —

When I came to Fort Lee, and found no measures taken *towards* an evacuation —

— when I found other opinions *so coincident* with his —

— I conceived that every impediment *that* stood in their way —

— when thrown into the scale *with* those opinions —

— the pen of a malignant writer, who is less regardful of facts —

— where concealment of a few circumstances *answers his purposes*, or where a small



## TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

transposition of them will give a very different complexion to the same *transaction*.

— but abundant reason to confirm *me in it*.

— our money would have been upon a very different establishment in point of credit *to what it is at this day* —

Such men as compose the bulk of an army are in a different train of *thinking and acting* to what they were in the early stages of the war, and nothing is now left *for it* but an annual and systematical mode of drafting, —

— it will come to this, for there are people *enow*, old soldiers —

— the difference will be, that *instead* of the public's emitting or borrowing money to pay *their bounties* (*which is enlarged greatly* every new enlistment), these *sums* will be paid by individuals —

— raise the value of it by multiplying the means *of its use* —

— weakened by *intestine* divisions have energy enough to

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

transposition of them will give a very different complexion to the same *thing*.

— but abundant reason to confirm *it*.

— our money would have been upon a very different establishment in point of credit *to\* what it now is* —

Such men as compose the bulk of an army are in a different train of *thinking* *to\** what they were in *those* early stages of the war, and nothing is now left but an annual and systematical mode of drafting, —

— it will come to this, for there are people *now*, old soldiers —

— the difference will be, that *in lieu* of the public's emitting or borrowing money to pay *the bounties*, *which increase rapidly* every new enlistment, these *bounties* will be paid by individuals —

— raise the value of it by multiplying the means *for using it* —

— weakened by *internal* divisions have energy enough to

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\* In these places *to* was printed *from*, probably as a grammatical correction.

## TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

carry statutes of this *nature* into execution —

— it cannot in my opinion *be justified* upon any *principle* of common policy —

— appears substantial justice to the public, and *each individual* —

— to what they *esteemed* their rights —

— influence the conduct of by far the *greatest* part —

— yet the ties are not *sufficiently* strong to induce their submission —

— depreciation of money on one hand —

— I wish you to be convinced, that I do not want inclination *to comply where I can do it consistently with any of your wishes.*

— different from that which for a long time prevailed —

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

carry statutes of this *kind* into execution —

— it cannot in my opinion *stand justified* upon any *principles* of common policy —

— appears substantial justice to the public, and *to individuals* —

— to what they *esteem* their rights —

— influence the conduct of by far the *greater* part —

— yet the ties are not\* strong to induce their submission —

— depreciation of money on *the* one hand —

— I wish you to be convinced, that I do not want inclination *to comply with your wishes in any instance that † is within the reach of my power consistently to aid them.*

OCTOBER 22d, 1779.

MAY 28th, 1780.

— different from that which *has* for a long time prevailed —

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\* Here was evidently an omission in the text of the Letter-Book. To complete the sense, the passage was printed — “are not *so* strong as to induce,” — a sense borne out by the original.

† The word *that* was printed *when it*, probably by design, as the sentence in its present construction is obscure, and scarcely grammatical. That this was perceived by Washington himself is evident from the change he made in the copy which he sent to General Reed, as here printed.

## TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

— you would be convinced that these expressions are not too strong, *and that we have almost ceased to hope.*

— in such a state of insensibility to its *interest*, that I dare not flatter myself —

— from every account I have been able to collect will be *very* inconsiderable —

The abilities of her present financier *has* done wonders.

Commerce and industry are the best *means* of a nation.

If we do our duty, we may even hope to make the campaign decisive *on this continent.*

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

— you would be convinced that these expressions are not too strong, *and that we have every thing to dread. Indeed, I have almost ceased to hope.*

— in such a state of insensibility to its *interests*, that I dare not flatter myself —

— from every account I have been able to collect will be inconsiderable —

The abilities of her present financier *have* done wonders.

Commerce and industry are the best *mines* of a nation.

If we do our duty, we may even hope to make the campaign decisive *of this continent.\**

JULY 4th, 1780.

When any great object is in view, the popular mind is roused into expectation and prepared to make sacrifices both of ease and property; if those to whom *they* confide the management of their affairs do

When any great object is in view, the popular mind is roused into expectation and prepared to make sacrifices both of ease and property; if those to whom *the*† confide the management of their affairs do

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\* Printed, “decisive of this contest,” possibly by an error of the transcriber, but probably by design, as the phrase “decisive of” does not here suit the word “continent.” Mr. Reed’s text is apparently more correct.

† It is obvious that some word is here omitted in the Letter-Book. The vacancy was filled by “people,” which the sense clearly requires. “They,” in the other text, has no appropriate antecedent.

## TEXT AS PRINTED BY MR. REED.

not call them to make these sacrifices —

I am of *a* very different *sentiment*.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

not call them to make these sacrifices —

I am of very different *senti-ment*.\*

OCTOBER 18th, 1780.†

That overruling Providence which has so often and so remarkably interposed in our favor, never manifested itself more conspicuously than in the timely discovery of his horrid *intention to surrender* the Post and Garrison of West Point into the hands of the enemy.

— the command of *that* Post —

— for which he was appointed, *seems* to have made —

That overruling Providence, which has so often and so remarkably interposed in our favor, never manifested itself more conspicuously than in the timely discovery of his horrid *design of surrendering* the Post and Garrison of West Point into the hands of the enemy.

— the command of *the* Post —

— for which he was appointed, *seem* to have made —

In the above examples, all the variations from Mr. Reed's copy exist in the Letter-Books, from which the text in "Washington's Writings" was printed; and, I repeat, they agree with that text except in the instances here specified in the notes. I am not answerable, therefore, for these variations. On the contrary, I had no copy to follow or consult but the one recorded in the Letter-Books.

There are a few other variations, and for these

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\* Printed "sentiments."

† Mr. Reed is mistaken in supposing that this letter "is not in the Letter-Books."

I am willing to be responsible, because they were made under a full conviction of their propriety ; but they rarely extend beyond a single word or phrase, and are for the most part grammatical corrections ; such as altering the singular number to the plural, or the contrary, when the construction required it, the insertion of a particle or a relative pronoun, the change of one preposition for another, or of an adjective to an adverb, and the like. Special care was also taken to print all the proper names correctly, however they may have been written ; and this was not so easy a task as might at first be imagined. Nor should it be overlooked, that the variations, whatever may have been their origin, are in the words, and not in the substance. The sense of the writer, as to any point he is aiming to present, is clearly the same in the different texts.

As Chief Justice Marshall's testimony has been appealed to, with reference to this subject, it may not be out of place here to add a few examples illustrative of the method followed by him in editing the selections, which he made from Washington's letters. Mr. Reed thinks he adopted a rule by which he indicated to the reader the omission of a passage, whenever it happened, by some mark. I have not been able to discover any indications



of this kind in his "Life of Washington," although omissions frequently occur. The following selections are taken at random from various parts of the work. The passages in italics are supplied from the Letter-Books, and they were omitted by him without any mark denoting the fact. I believe the same will be found true in all other cases, so that, if he had any rule at all, it must have been not to mark the places where passages were left out.

LETTER TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

JULY 15th, 1777.

"The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is an event of chagrin and surprise, not apprehended nor within the compass of my reasoning. *I know not upon what principle it was founded, and I should suppose it still more difficult to reconcile, if the garrison amounted to five thousand men, in high spirits, healthy, well supplied with provision and ammunition, and the Eastern militia marching to their succor, as you mention in your letter of the 9th to the Council of Safety of New York.* This stroke is severe indeed, and has distressed us much. But, notwithstanding things at present wear a dark and gloomy aspect, I hope a spirited opposition will check the progress of General Burgoyne's arms, and that the confidence derived from success will hurry him into measures, that will in their consequences be favorable to us. We should never despair. Our situation has before been unpromising, and has changed for the better. So, I trust, it will again. If new difficulties arise, we must only put forth new exertions, and proportion our efforts to the exigency of the times." — Vol. III. p. 254.

## LETTER TO CONGRESS.

August 20th, 1780.

“It will be an interesting winter. Many circumstances will contribute to a negotiation. An army on foot, not only for another campaign, but for several campaigns, would determine the enemy to pacific measures, and enable us to insist upon favorable terms in forcible language. An army insignificant in numbers, dissatisfied, crumbling to pieces, would be the strongest temptation they could have to try the experiment a little longer. It is an old maxim, that the surest way to make a good peace is to be well prepared for war.

*“I am inclined to hope a draft for the war, or for three years, would succeed. Many incentives of immediate interest may be held up to the people to induce them to submit to it. They must begin to consider the repeated bounties they are obliged to pay as a burthen, and be willing to get rid of it by sacrificing a little more once for all. Indeed, it is probable the bounties may not be much greater in that case than they have been. The people of the States near the seat of war ought to enter into such a plan with alacrity, as it would ease them in a variety of respects; among others, by obviating the frequent calls upon the militia.*

“I cannot forbear returning in this place to the necessity of a more ample and equal provision for the army. The discontents on this head have been gradually matured to a dangerous extremity. There are many symptoms that alarm and distress me. Endeavors are using to unite both officers and men in a general refusal of the money, and some corps now actually decline receiving it. Every method has been taken to counteract it, because such a combination in the army would be a severe blow to our declining currency. The most moderate insist that the accounts of depreciation ought to be liquidated at stated periods, and certificates given by government for the sums due. They will not be satisfied with a general declaration that it shall be made good.

*"This is one instance of complaint. There are others equally serious. Among the most serious is the inequality of the provision made by the several States. Pennsylvania maintains her officers in a decent manner; she has given them half-pay for life. What a wide difference between their situation and that of the officers of every other line in this army, some of whom are actually so destitute of clothing as to be unfit for duty, and obliged for that cause only to confine themselves to quarters. I have often said, and I beg leave to repeat it, the half-pay provision is in my opinion the most politic and effectual that can be adopted. On the whole, if something satisfactory be not done, the army (already so much reduced in officers by daily resignations, as not to have a sufficiency to do the common duties of it) must either cease to exist at the end of the campaign, or it will exhibit an example of more virtue, fortitude, self-denial, and perseverance, than has perhaps ever yet been paralleled in the history of human enthusiasm."* — Vol. IV. p. 298.

LETTER TO GENERAL LINCOLN.

OCTOBER 2d, 1782.

*"I repeat it, when I reflect on these irritable circumstances, unattended by one thing to soothe their feelings, or brighten the gloomy prospect, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow, of a very serious and distressing nature. On the other hand, could the officers be placed in as good a situation, as when they came into service, the contention, I am persuaded, would be, not who should continue in the field, but who should retire to private life.*

*"I wish not to heighten the shades of the picture so far as the real life would justify me in doing, or I would give anecdotes of patriotism and distress which have scarcely ever been paralleled, never surpassed in the history of mankind. But, you may rely upon it, the patience and long sufferance of this army are almost exhausted, and there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant."* — Vol. IV. p. 580.

## LETTER TO HENRY LEE.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1788.

“It was for a long time doubtful whether we were to survive as an independent republic, or decline from our federal dignity into insignificant and wretched fragments of empire. The adoption of the constitution so extensively, and with so liberal an acquiescence on the part of the minorities in general, promised the former; but lately, the circular letter of New York has manifested, in my apprehension, an unfavorable, if not an insidious tendency to a contrary policy. I still hope for the best; but before you mentioned it, I could not help fearing it would serve as a standard to which the disaffected might resort. It is now evidently the part of all honest men, who are friends to the new constitution, to endeavour to give it a chance to disclose its merits and defects by carrying it fairly into effect, in the first instance. *For it is to be apprehended, that by an attempt to obtain amendments before the experiment has been candidly made, ‘more is meant than meets the ear,’ that an intention is concealed, to accomplish slyly, what could not have been done openly, to undo all that has been done. If the fact so exists, that a kind of combination is forming to stifle the government in embryo, it is a happy circumstance that the design has become suspected. Preparations should be the sure attendant upon forewarning. Probably, prudence, wisdom, and patriotism were never more essentially necessary than at the present moment: and so far as it can be done in an irreproachably direct manner, no effort ought to be left unassayed to procure the election of the best possible characters to the new Congress. On their harmony, deliberation, and decision every thing will depend. I heartily wish Mr. Madison was in our Assembly; as I think, with you, it is of unspeakable importance Virginia should set out in her federal measures under right auspices.*

“The principal topic of your letter is to me a point of great delicacy indeed; insomuch that I can scarcely, without some impropriety, touch upon it. In the first place, the event to

which you allude may never happen, among other reasons because, if the partiality of my fellow-citizens conceive it to be a mean by which the sinews of the new government would be strengthened, it will of consequence be obnoxious to those who are in opposition to it, many of whom, unquestionably, will be placed among the electors." — Vol. V. p. 138.

LETTER TO DAVID STUART.

NEW YORK, June 15, 1790.

"Before the custom was established, which now accommodates foreign characters, strangers, and others who from motives of curiosity, respect to the chief magistrate, or any other cause, are induced to call upon me, I was unable to attend to any business whatsoever. For gentlemen, consulting their own convenience rather than mine, were calling from the time I rose from breakfast, often before, until I sat down to dinner. This, as I resolved not to neglect my public duties, reduced me to the choice of one of these alternatives, either to refuse them altogether, or to appropriate a time for the reception of them. The first would, I well knew, be disgusting to many; the latter, I expected, would undergo animadversion from those who would find fault with or without cause. To please every body was impossible. I therefore adopted that line of conduct which combined public advantage with private convenience, and which in my judgment was unexceptionable in itself. *That I have not been able to make bows to the taste of poor Colonel B—— (who, by the by, I believe never saw one of them) is to be regretted, especially too as, upon those occasions, they were indiscriminately bestowed, and the best I was master of. Would it not have been better to have thrown the veil of charity over them, ascribing their stiffness to the effects of age, or to the unskilfulness of my teacher, than to pride and dignity of office, which God knows has no charms for me? For I can truly say, I had rather be at Mount Vernon with a friend or two about me, than to be attended at the seat of government*



*by the officers of state and the representatives of every Power in Europe.*

“These visits are optional. They are made without invitation. Between the hours of three and four every Tuesday, I am prepared to receive them. Gentlemen, often in great numbers, come and go, chat with each other, and act as they please. A porter shows them into the room, and they retire from it when they choose, and without ceremony.” — Vol. V. p. 165.

Such was the practice of Judge Marshall in regard to omissions. But it should be observed, that the writer's train of thought, as to the points intended to be presented by the selections from any letter, is nowhere interrupted. The parts retained have a clear connection. It would have added nothing to the reader's instruction, if he had been informed at certain places, by a mark or otherwise, that passages were omitted. He might have gained more, if the whole letter in each case, instead of parts, had been printed; but, as this was not consistent with the plan of the work, there seems no good reason why he should be told, that other parts were left out, which were irrelevant to the matter in hand.

A letter frequently treats of topics totally distinct from each other, and in this respect it is the same as a collection of letters written upon different subjects. In such a letter, the omission of one or more topics has no effect upon the others, and

is the same in reality as the omission of a separate letter, which has no bearing upon the matter intended to be represented. When, for any reason, the train of the writer's ideas is suddenly broken off, or his meaning obscured, by the omission of a paragraph, sentence, or phrase, it certainly is essential that the fact should be noted; but such is not the case in any of the above selections, and probably not in any others comprised in the "Life of Washington."

The following selections are introduced for the purpose of a comparison between Judge Marshall's text and that of the Letter-Books. The italics indicate the discrepancies.

## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

## LETTER TO CONGRESS.

SEPT. 2d, 1776.

"Great numbers of them have gone off, in some instances almost by whole regiments, *in many* by half ones, and by companies at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but when *it is added that* their example has in-

"Great numbers of them have gone off, in some instances almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable, but when their example has infected another part of the

## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

fect another part of the army; *that* their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have *rendered* a like conduct but too common *in* the whole; and *have produced* an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary *for* the well-doing of an army, and which had been *before inculcated* as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit, our condition is still more alarming." — Vol. II. p. 455.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

army, *when* their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have *produced* a like conduct but too common *to* the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary *to* the well-doing of an army, and which had been *inculcated before*, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit *of*, our condition is still more alarming."

## LETTER TO CONGRESS.

SEPT. 8th, 1776.

"It is now extremely obvious from their movements, from *our intelligence*, and *from* every other circumstance, that, having their whole army *upon* Long Island, except about four thousand *men who remain* on Staten Island, they mean to inclose us *in this island* by taking post in our rear, while *their ships* effectually secure the front; and thus, by cutting off our communication with the country, oblige us

"It is now extremely obvious, from *all intelligence*, from their movements and every other circumstance, that having *landed* their whole army *on* Long Island (except about four thousand on Staten Island) they mean to inclose us *on the Island of New York* by taking post in our rear, while *the shipping* effectually secures the front, and thus *either* by cutting off our communication with the country, oblige us to fight them

## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

to fight them on their own terms, or surrender at discretion ; or, *if that shall be deemed more advisable*, by a brilliant stroke endeavor to cut this army to pieces, and secure the *possession* of arms and stores, which they well know *our inability to replace*.

“ Having their system unfolded to us, it *becomes* an important consideration how it could be most successfully opposed. On every side there is a choice of difficulties, and *experience teaches us*, that every measure on our part (however painful the reflection) *must be taken* with some apprehension, that all *the* troops will not do their duty.”  
— Vol. II. p. 466.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

on their own terms, or surrender at discretion, or by a brilliant stroke endeavor to cut this army *in* pieces and secure the *collection* of arms and stores, which they well know *we shall not be soon able to replace*.

“ Having *therefore* their system unfolded to us, it *became* an important consideration how it could be most successfully opposed. On every side there is a choice of difficulties, and every measure on our part (however painful the reflection *is from experience*) *to be formed* with some apprehension, that all *our* troops will not do their duty.”

## LETTER TO GENERAL ARNOLD.

JUNE 17, 1777.

“ They might possibly be successful, but the probability would be infinitely against them. Should they be imprudent enough *to make the attempt*, I shall keep close upon their heels, and *will* do every thing in my power to make the project fatal to them.

“ They might possibly be successful, but the probability would be infinitely against them. Should they be imprudent enough *to do it*, I shall keep close upon their heels, and do every thing in my power to make the project fatal to them.

## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

“But, besides the argument *in favor* of their intending, in the first place, a stroke at this army, drawn from the policy of the measure, every appearance *contributes* to confirm the opinion. Had *their design been* for the Delaware in the first instance, they would probably have made a secret, rapid march for it, and not *have halted so as* to awaken our attention, and give us time to prepare for obstructing them. Instead of that, they have only advanced to a position necessary to facilitate an attack on our right, *the part in which we are most exposed.* In addition to this circumstance, they have come out as light as possible, leaving all their baggage, provisions, boats, and bridges at Brunswick. *This plainly contradicts the idea of their intending to push for the Delaware.*” — Vol. III. p. 112.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

“But, besides the argument *for* their intending, in the first place, a stroke at this army, drawn from the policy of the measure, every appearance *co-incides* to confirm the opinion. Had *they designed* for the Delaware in the first instance, they would probably have made a secret, rapid march for it, and not *halted, as they have done,* to awaken our attention, and give us time to prepare for obstructing them. Instead of that, they have only advanced to a position necessary to facilitate an attack upon our right, *which is the part they have the greatest likelihood of injuring us in; and added to this consideration,* they have come out as light as possible, leaving all their baggage, provisions, boats, and bridges at Brunswick; *which plainly contradicts the idea for pushing for the Delaware.*”

## LETTER TO GENERAL SULLIVAN.

SEPT. 1st, 1778.

“First impressions, you know, are generally longest *retained,* and will serve to fix,

“First impressions, you know, are generally longest *remembered,* and will serve to



## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

in a great degree, our national character *with* the French. In our conduct towards them, we should remember, that they are a people old in war, very strict in military etiquette, and apt to take fire *when* others scarcely seem warmed. Permit me to recommend, in the most particular manner, the cultivation of harmony and good agreement, and your endeavors to destroy that ill humor which may have *found its way among* the officers. It is of the *utmost* importance, *too*, that the soldiers and the people should know nothing of *this* misunderstanding, or, if it has reached them, that *means* may be used to stop its progress, and prevent its effects." — Vol. III. p. 517.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

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## LETTER TO GENERAL GRIENE.

SEPT. 1st, 1778.

"I have not now time to take notice of the several arguments *which* were made use of, for and against the Count's quitting the harbor of Newport, and sailing for Boston. Right or wrong, it will proba-

"I have not now time to take notice of the several arguments *that* were made use of, for and against the Count's quitting the harbor of Newport, and sailing for Boston. Right or wrong, it will proba-

## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

bly disappoint our sanguine expectations of success ; and, *which I deem* a still worse consequence, I fear it will sow the seeds of dissension and distrust between us and our new allies, *unless* the most prudent measures *be* taken to suppress the feuds and jealousies that have already arisen. I depend much *on* your temper and influence to conciliate that animosity, which, I plainly perceive by a letter from the Marquis, subsists between the *American and French officers* in our service. This, you may *be assured*, will extend itself to the Count, and the officers and men of his whole fleet, should they return to Rhode Island, *unless a reconciliation shall have taken place*. The Marquis speaks kindly of a letter from you to him *on* this subject. He will therefore take any advice from you in a friendly *way* ; and, if he can be pacified, the other French gentlemen will of course be satisfied, *since* they look up to him as their head.”  
— Vol. III. p. 518.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

bly disappoint our sanguine expectations of success ; and, *what I esteem* a still worse consequence, I fear it will sow the seeds of dissension and distrust between us and our new allies, *except* the most prudent measures *are* taken to suppress the feuds and jealousies that have already arisen. I depend much *upon* your temper and influence to conciliate that animosity, which, I plainly perceive by a letter from the Marquis, subsists between the *American officers and the French* in our service. This, you may *depend*, will extend itself to the Count, and the officers and men of his whole fleet, should they return to Rhode Island ; *except, upon their arrival there, they find a reconciliation has taken place*. The Marquis speaks kindly of a letter from you to him *upon* this subject. He will therefore take any advice *coming* from you in a friendly *light*, and, if he can be pacified, the other French gentlemen will of course be satisfied, *as* they look up to him as their head.”

JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

## LETTER TO JACOB READ.

Nov. 3d, 1784.

“ If either of these happen, there is a line of separation drawn between the eastern and western country at once, the consequences of which may be fatal. To tell any man of information how fast the latter is settling, how much more rapidly it will settle by means of foreign emigrants who can have no particular predilection for us, of the vast fertility of the soil, *of the population to which the country is competent*, would be *unnecessary*; and equally *unnecessary* would it be to observe, that it is by the cement of interest alone we can be held together. If, then, the trade of that country should flow through the Mississippi or *the* St. Lawrence; if the inhabitants thereof should form commercial connections, which *we know lead* to intercourses of other kinds, they would in a few years be as unconnected with us, *as are those of South America*.

“ It may be asked, How are we to prevent this? Happily for us, the way is plain. Our

“ If either of these happen, there is a line of separation drawn between the eastern and western country at once, the consequences of which may be fatal. To tell any man of information how fast the latter is settling, how much more rapidly it will settle by means of foreign emigrants who can have no particular predilection for us, of the vast fertility of the soil, *and population the country is competent to*, would be *futile*; and equally *nugatory* to observe, that it is by the cement of interest alone we can be held together. If, then, the trade of that country should flow through the Mississippi or St. Lawrence; if the inhabitants thereof should form commercial connections, which *lead, we know*, to intercourses of other kinds, they would in a few years be as unconnected with us, *indeed more so, than we are with South America, and entirely alienated from us*.

“ It may be asked how we are to prevent this. Happily for us, the way is plain, *and*

## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

immediate interests, as well as remote political advantages, point to it; whilst a combination of circumstances renders the present *time* more favorable than any other to accomplish *it*. Extend the inland navigation of the eastern waters; communicate them as near as possible with those which run westward; open these to the Ohio; *open also* such as extend from the Ohio towards Lake Erie; and we shall not only draw the produce of the western settlers, but the peltry and fur trade of the Lakes also, to our ports; *thus adding an immense increase to our exports, and binding* those people to us by a chain which never can be broken.”  
— Vol. V. p. 16.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

our immediate interests, as well as remote political advantages, point to it; whilst a combination of circumstances renders the present *epocha* more favorable than any other to accomplish *them*. Extend the inland navigation of the eastern waters; communicate them as near as possible with those which run *to the* westward; open these to the Ohio; *and* such *others* as extend from the Ohio towards Lake Erie; and we shall not only draw the produce of the western settlers, but the peltry and fur trade of the Lakes also, to our ports, *being the nearest and best, to the amazing increase of our exports, while we bind* those people to us by a chain which never can be broken.”

## LETTER TO BENJAMIN HARRISON.

JAN. 22d, 1785.

“How would this matter be viewed then by the eye of the world, and *what opinion would be formed* when it comes to be related, that G..... W.....n exerted himself to effect this work, and *that* G..... W.....n has received twenty thousand

“How would this matter be viewed then by the eye of the world, and *what would be the opinion of it* when it comes to be related, that G..... W.....n exerted himself to effect this work, and G. W. has received twenty thousand dollars, and

## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

dollars and five thousand pounds sterling of the public money as an interest therein? Would not this (if I am entitled to any merit for the part I have *performed*, and without it there is no foundation for the act) deprive me of the principal thing which is laudable in my conduct? Would it not in some respects be considered in the same light as a pension? And would not the apprehension of this *induce me to offer my sentiments in future with the more reluctance?* In a word, under whatever pretence, and however customary these *gratuities may be* in other countries, should I not thenceforward be considered as a dependent?"—Vol. V. p. 21.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

five thousand pounds sterling of the public money as an interest therein? Would not this, *in the estimation of it* (if I am entitled to any merit for the part I have *acted*; and without it there is no foundation for the act) deprive me of the principal thing which is laudable in my conduct? Would it not in some respects be considered in the same light as a pension? And would not the apprehension of this *make me more reluctantly offer my sentiments in future?* In a word, under whatever pretence, and however customary these *gratuitous gifts are made* in other countries, should I not thenceforward be considered as a dependent?"

## LETTER TO JOHN JAY.

Nov. 1, 1794.

"But, fortunately, they *have* precipitated a crisis for which they were not prepared; and thereby have unfolded views which will, I trust, *effect* their annihilation sooner than it might have happened. *An occasion has also been afforded* for the people of this country

"But, fortunately, they precipitated a crisis for which they were not prepared; and thereby have unfolded views which will, I trust, *effectuate* their annihilation sooner than it might *otherwise* have happened; *at the same time that it has afforded an occasion* for



## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

to show their abhorrence of the result, and their attachment to the constitution and the laws ; for I believe that five times the number of militia, that *were* required, would have come forward *in support of them, had it been necessary.*

“The spirit which blazed out on this occasion, as soon as the object was fully understood, and the lenient measures of the government were made known to the people, deserves to be communicated. There are instances of general officers going at the head of a single troop, *or* of light companies ; of field officers, when they came to the place of rendezvous and found no command for them in that grade, turning into the ranks and *serving* as private soldiers under their own captains ; and of numbers possessing the first fortunes in the country, standing in the ranks as private men, *and, by way of example to others,* marching day by day with their knapsacks at their backs, *and* sleeping on straw with a single blanket, in a soldier's tent, during the frosty

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

the people of this country to show their abhorrence of the result, and their attachment to the constitution and the laws ; for I believe that five times the number of militia, that *was* required, would have come forward, *if it had been necessary, in support of them.*

“The spirit which blazed out on this occasion, as soon as the object was fully understood, and the lenient measures of the government were made known to the people, deserves to be communicated ; *for* there are instances of general officers going at the head of a single troop, *and* of light companies ; of field officers, when they came to the place of rendezvous and found no command for them in that grade, turning into the ranks and *proceeding* as private soldiers under their own captains ; and of numbers possessing the first fortunes in the country, standing in the ranks as private [men, and marching day by day with their knapsacks *and haversacks* at their backs ; sleeping on straw with a single blanket, in a soldier's tent, during the frosty nights which

## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

nights which we have had. Nay, more ; many young Quakers *of the first family*, character, and property, *not discouraged by the elders*, have turned into the ranks, and are marching with the troops." — Vol. V. p. 593.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

we have had, *by way of example to others*. Nay, more ; many young Quakers, *not discouraged by the elders*, of the first families, character, and property, *having* turned into the ranks, and are marching with the troops."

## LETTER TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

MAY 27th, 1798.

" But, my dear Sir, dark as matters appear at present, and expedient as it is to be prepared for the worst that can happen, (and no *man* is more disposed to this measure than I am,) I cannot make up my mind yet for the expectation of open war ; or, in other words, for a formidable invasion by France. I cannot believe, although I think *her* capable of any thing, that *she* will attempt to do more than *she has* done. When *she perceives* the spirit and policy of this country rising into resistance, and that *she has* falsely calculated upon support from a large part of the people to promote *her* views and influence in it, *she* will desist even from those practices, unless

" But, my dear Sir, dark as matters appear at present, and expedient as it is to be prepared *at all points* for the worst that can happen, (and no *one* is more disposed to this measure than I am,) I cannot make up my mind yet for the expectation of open war ; or, in other words, for a formidable invasion by France. I cannot believe, although I think *them* capable of any thing *bad*, that *they* will attempt to do more than *they have* done, that when *they perceive* the spirit and policy of this country rising into resistance, and that *they have* falsely calculated upon support from a large part of the people *thereof* to promote *their* views and influence in it, that *they* will

## JUDGE MARSHALL'S TEXT.

unexpected events in Europe, or *the acquisition* of Louisiana and the Floridas, should induce *her* to continue *them*. And I believe further, that although the leaders of their party in this country will not change their sentiments, they will be obliged to change their plan, or the mode of carrying it on. The effervescence which is appearing in all quarters, and the desertion of their followers, *will* frown them into silence, at least for a while.”  
— Vol. V. p. 747.

## TEXT OF THE LETTER-BOOKS.

desist even from those practices, unless unexpected events in Europe, or *their possession* of Louisiana and the Floridas, should induce *them* to continue *the measure*. And I believe further, that although the leaders of their party in this country will not change their sentiments, *that* they will be obliged *nevertheless* to change their plan, or the mode of carrying it on, *from* the effervescence which is appearing in all quarters, and *from* the desertion of their followers, *which must* frown them into silence, at least for a while.”

If Judge Marshall copied from the Letter-Books, as he undoubtedly did, since they were all in his charge while he was writing the “Life of Washington,” it is seen that he made frequent changes in the phraseology, and verbal corrections in the style. If the originals were in his possession, and he copied from them, which is highly improbable, the comparison of the two texts shows the differences between the originals and the Letter-Books. These specimens are not selected as being peculiar. If the examination were continued, it would be found that he adopted a similar practice in the

other parts of Washington's letters, which he incorporated into his work. The extracts are invariably included within quotation marks, so that the reader can at once discover where they occur, and any one may pursue the comparison by consulting the Letter-Books.

In the preceding remarks, it has not been my object to question the propriety of the general plan of Mr. Reed's publication. I have only endeavored to remove what I could not but feel to be an erroneous impression, as bearing upon myself, conveyed by the manner in which some parts of his performance have been executed.

CAMBRIDGE, APRIL 20th, 1853.



























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